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CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

EPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION, 1959

BE SYNODS, ASSOCIATIONS, AND CONFERENCES

From the point of view of Christian Social Action the outing event in the life of the United Church of Christ during ear 1959 was without doubt the meeting of the General l, and specifically, its adoption without audible dissent of all to Christian Action in Society. Prior to this action, there een a long process of drafting in which not only the memnd committees of the Council for Christian Social Action undreds of pastors and members of churches, synods and rences had taken part. This statement gives broad goals nought, prayer, and effort for our entire constituency in ing the Gospel to bear on all of life. It is our hope that ll be used widely and studied carefully, as our churches it ($2 per hundred for quantities above 100) and use the mber, 1959 issue of *Social Action magazine* as interpretand commentary.

The General Synod also took significant action in supporne right of the Council for Christian Social Action to speak y on public issues. While recognizing that there is room n our fellowship for considerable diversity of opinion on issues, the Synod encouraged the Council to continue to rth its views and our churches to utilize the statements to llate the mind and conscience of their members.

The General Synod reelected to the Council the followersons whose terms had expired: Mrs. John C. Bennett, Leonard C. Brecher, Rev. Roy Eilers, Rev. Henry C. Koch. ected to membership the Rev. George D. Alley, the Rev. rson G. Hangen, Judge Constance Keller, and the Rev. A. iam Loos to fill the places left vacant by the expiration of rms of Mrs. Charles E. Bingham, the Rev. Joseph Evans, ev. Myron W. Fowell, and Mr. Milton W. Meyers. Mr. rd Dudley, and Mrs. Frank Havice were elected to fill cies created by the resignation of Dr. Percy Julian and Paul Tanner.

Meeting in Oberlin immediately after the General Synod, Council organized by electing the following officers for the ear term 1959-1961:

Professor Hugo W. Thompson, St. Paul, Minnesota, Chairman

The Reverend Henry C. Koch, Washington, D. C., Vice Chairman

Mrs. F. P. Brasseur, Cleveland, Ohio, Recording Secretary

Mr. Harold C. Kropf, Orrville, Ohio, Treasurer

The Executive Committee is composed of the above named officers with the addition of the Reverend George D. Alley, Mrs. John C. Bennett, Mr. Leonard C. Brecher, the Reverend Clarence E. Josephson.

The following persons were chosen as Chairmen of standing committees of the Council:

The Reverend Roy J. Eilers, Economic Life;

The Reverend Walter Press, Editorial Board of *Social Action;*

The Reverend A. William Loos, International Relations;

The Reverend George D. Alley, Racial and Cultural Relations;

Mr. Robert D. Smink, Religion and Public Education;

The Reverend Alfred F. Schroeder, Social Welfare

Other members of the Council, not included in the Executive Committee or among the above named committee chairmen are: Mr. Herbert E. Baldwin, the Reverend Theodore A. Braun, Mr. Tilford E. Dudley, the Reverend Clyde C. Flannery, the Reverend Emerson G. Hangen, Mrs. Frank Havice, the Reverend Professor Ralph D. Hyslop, Judge Constance C. Keller, the Reverend Everett W. MacNair, Mr. C. B. Newell, Mrs. William D. Powell.

STATEMENTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The only statement reported by the Council to the General Synod was the *Call to Christian Action in Society* referred to above. The General Synod referred to the Council a statement on Nuclear Weapons and the Arms Race which had been prepared by a group of people related to the United Church Peace Fellowship. This statement was in turn referred by the Council to its International Relations Committee. On the basis of the work done by the International Relations Committee, a fresh statement has been revised and approved by the Council for Christian Social Action as representing both Christian conviction and unhurried study, and is attached to this Report as a Statement for Study and Action by Churches, Associations, Synods and Conferences.

In addition to these statements, testimony on behalf of the Council for Christian Social Action was offered by Chairman

Henry C. Koch before the House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee hearing on the Mutual Security Program (April 13, 1959) and by the Reverend Shirley E. Greene before the Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare concerning amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act (May 15, 1959). Such testimony was presented within the framework of views repeatedly expressed by the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches, the Council for Christian Social Action, and the National Council of Churches.

PUBLICATIONS

During the year, the Council continued to publish its monthly news and program service, CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY, sent free to all pastors and chairmen of social action committees, and *Social Action,* a monthly periodical treating important issues, often from divergent points of view. The themes of the monthly issues during 1959 were the following:

January, Toward Racially Inclusive Churches
February, What is Happening to the Farmer?
March, Family Income; Where Does It Go?
April, Christian Burial
May, The High Price of Peace
September, Call to Christian Action in Society
October, Juvenile Delinquency
November, Gambling, Obscene Literature, Use of Sunday
December, Preventing Nuclear War

In addition to these periodicals, the Council continued to distribute in large quantity pamphlets and publications of other responsible bodies, such as the National Council of Churches. The Race Relations Sunday, Labor Sunday, and World Order Sunday messages of the National Council were distributed to all pastors. A free promotional leaflet for wide distribution in the churches, marking the silver anniversary of the two cooperating social agencies, was prepared, particularly for use during the month of February which both constituencies of the United Church have designated as the month of emphasis for Christian social action.

Two pamphlets inaugurating a new series were prepared, *The Bible and Race* and *Mr. Asia and Mr. U. S. A. Talk it Over.* Prepared respectively by the Reverend Chester L. Marcus and the Reverend Herman F. Reissig of our staff, they are intended to offer brief, popular interpretation of specific topics regarding which the members of our churches have reasonable questions. Selling at five cents for each single copy or $3 per hundred, they are well calculated to take their place in the church literature rack along with devotional and stewardship literature, or to be inserted in mailings to the parish.

Naturally, the Council assumed the responsibility of giving the *Call to Christian Action in Society* the widest possible distribution. Already 150,000 have been printed and 105,000 have been distributed.

INSTITUTES AND SEMINARS

During 1959 the following leadership training activities were sponsored by the Council:

February 3 to 6, Churchmen's Washington Seminar
April 7 to 9, United Church of Christ, Washington Seminar
June 22-26, West Coast Christian Social Action Institute
June 23-August 1, CCSA Europe—Middle East Study Travel Seminar
June 29-July 11, Race Relations Institute
July 13-17, Midwest Christian Social Action Institute
July 20-24, Central Christian Social Action Institute
July 27-31, Eastern Christian Social Action Institute
August 6-25, Mexican Travel Seminar
October 20-22, United Nations—World Order Semin

Corresponding activities planned during 1960 are the follow

February 2-4, Seminar on the Christian Farmer and His Government
February 16-19, Churchmen's Washington Seminar
April 26-28, CCSA Washington Seminar
June 6-10, Central Christian Social Action Institute
June 20-24, West Coast Christian Social Action Insti
June 20-July 2, 17th Annual Race Relations Institute
June 21-August 23, World Seminar
June 22-July 7, Hawaiian Seminar
July 11-15, Midwest Christian Social Action Institute
July 18-22, Southern Christian Social Action Institute
July 25-29, Eastern Christian Social Action Institute
August 3-22, Mexican Seminar
September 6-9, Meeting of Council, with Synod and Conference Chairmen
October 25-27, World Order Seminar
November 9-11, Consultation on the Church and Community Development

In addition to the above Institutes and Seminars (for wh participation is generally open up to the limit of capacity), Council is calling, for the first time since its formation in 19 a national meeting of all synod and state conference social act committee chairmen. This will be held at Macalester Colle St. Paul, Minnesota, September 6 to 9, immediately preced and during the fall meeting of the Council for Christian Soc Action. This meeting will concern itself with the overall p gram of Christian social action in the denomination, in syno conferences, and in local churches. Expenses of the commit chairmen will be defrayed by the Council. It is hoped that ev synod and conference will cooperate in encouraging the atte ance of its chairman.

STAFF AND FIELD SERVICES

Members of the staff have been actively engaged in rep senting the concerns of the Council and of the denomination various departments of the National Council of Churches a in consultation with related agencies within the denominati Among the field activities carried on were the sponsoring about fifty one-day regional workshops attended by more th one thousand local church leaders as well as about two hundr appearances in local churches for educational or fellowship p grams and for worship services.

Priorities are given to synods and conferences which a zoned for Christian social action either by denominational p motional arrangements or by the initiative of the group itse In most instances these regional institutes and itineraries are s up by consultation between state and conference synods that they become not only an instrument of social education b also a means of closer fellowship between churches and ministe of the two uniting groups.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

During the past calendar year arrangements were co pleted for the transfer of responsibility for conscientious obje tors of the Congregational Christian as well as of the Evange

Statements of the
Council for Christian
Social Action
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

Supplement to
CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY
March, 1960

CHRISTIANS AND THE ARMS RACE

A Statement on the Reduction and Control of Armaments

Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, January 31, 1960

Christians are more and more disturbed by the arms race l are asking what they can do to help bring it under control.

In this statement the Council for Christian Social Action, aking primarily to the people of the Evangelical and Re-med Church and the Congregational Christian Churches, dresses itself to this problem. The Council believes there are ecific and practical things that members of our churches ought do and can do now. But our recommendations for action w out of our understanding of the Christian faith and out our analysis of what underlies the arms race, of the character modern arms, and of the place of armed force in the world nations. We begin, therefore, with a brief summary of such analysis.

I. Analysis

1. Reasons for the arms race. Following two military in-ions from the West in one generation, the government of the iet Union has had an understandable fear for the security he country. But the international aims of communist coun-s go far beyond a legitimate security system; they involve hing less than the destruction of Western democracies and creation of a worldwide system of communist control. is threatens not only the security of noncommunist nations the integrity of their ways of life, but also values of tral importance to Christians.

Since communist governments have used and threatened use military power as a means of realizing their interna-al purposes, it has been the policy of the government of United States to maintain military power sufficient to deter se governments from further expansion of communism by ce. While constantly urging greater emphasis on nonmilitary s of dealing with the danger, the Council for Christian ial Action has supported the policy of deterrence by armed ngth. There can be little doubt that without strong military er on our side many areas now free would be under com-nist control.

Even with recent changes in the Soviet Union that seem point to a less belligerent international policy, there is no dence that the aims of the international communist move-nt have changed. On the contrary, the aim of making munism everywhere victorious has recently and repeatedly restated. Competition between communism and western ocratic systems is now going on; it could produce some good lts on both sides. And the right of communists to advocate, try to extend, their system cannot reasonably be denied.

But the emphasis communist governments currently put on peace indicates not only a concern for higher standards of living in their own countries but also their recognition that a nuclear war, so far from advancing their aims, might destroy what they have already achieved. A serious weakening of military power on our side would certainly tempt communist governments to revert to the policy of supporting their international aims with military force. While, therefore, we hope for gradual changes in communist regimes that will make it possible to live with them, protection through military power approximately equal to theirs seems for the present necessary.

2. Dangers of the arms race. But the policy of protection by arms has led both sides into an arms race that has no limits. Both sides now feel threatened, and neither rests easy with the prospect of falling behind in the production of the latest weapons. There has existed for some time a vicious circle to which both sides contribute. The race absorbs more and more of the national income and energy and it reaches no point at which security is assured.

The actual use of the strongest weapons now in possession of both sides would cause immeasurable ruin and do irreparable damage to future generations. This seems now to be recognized by leaders of the West and of communist governments. No "hard-headed" calculations on our part, intended to suggest that a general nuclear war might, after all, be "tolerable," should weaken our resolution to bring nuclear weapons under international control and, ultimately to eliminate them. The use of these weapons has passed the bounds of moral and political toleration.

3. Present necessity of national arms. A drastic reduction in the present level of national armaments is imperative, and the effort to effect such reduction must be pursued with all possible vigor. It must, however, be acknowledged that universal and complete disarmament is neither possible nor desirable until an international system for the protection of the nations has been created. No society, domestic or international, can dispense with means of physical coercion. Considerations of love and justice, as well as of order, demand that, when every other means has failed, the community have power to enforce its decisions. The present reliance of the nations for protection on nationally controlled military power must be recognized as being as anarchic and intolerable as a domestic society in which individuals take both judgment and punishment into their own hands. But until such time as the world has a greatly developed system of international law, international courts with effective jurisdiction, and an international police system, nations will not and cannot reduce their armaments to the level needed for

purely domestic purposes. They can reduce and control their armaments, but they cannot completely disarm.

4. Mistaken reliance on nuclear arms. Mainly for reasons of cost in dollars, the United States has placed almost complete reliance on nuclear weapons as a means of deterrence. The result has been the "balance of terror." This may have had the good consequence of causing both sides to draw back from any military action that might become a nuclear war. It has also put the free nations in a situation in which they may be inhibited from needed resistance to aggression, or threats of aggression, by the fact that effective resistance would compel them to use nuclear weapons, leading to a nuclear conflict whose consequences would be disastrous. United States military policy has, in this way, put our country in a nuclear prison, since the conventional military capabilities of communist countries now greatly outbalance those of the free nations.

5. Importance of serious negotiation. Agreement on reduction and control of armaments of all kinds depends on the sincerity and seriousness with which both sides approach the problem. It does not depend altogether on the Soviet Union and its allies. With respect to general arms reduction, the people of the United States cannot take it for granted that their government's proposals are always the best that can be devised. Skepticism in those conditioned by their military training and environment, as well as in some political leaders, may make our experts less creative than they need to be in arms-reduction negotiations. The age-long reliance on, and pride in, superior military power may still be operative among our people, despite the basically new situation.

In fact, with respect to nuclear weapons testing, which has its own perils, it is well known that elements in the United States government are opposed to cessation, even on a multilateral basis with an effective inspection system.

6. The underlying causes of war. Finally, it should be recognized that armaments are not a primary cause of international tension and war. The world's longing for peace cannot be satisfied by giving over-riding attention to armaments. Our first and basic task is to change the conditions that produce unrest, tension, and strife. Among these conditions are:

—Gross disparity in living standards in a shrinking and increasingly interdependent world;

—Deep suspicion and distrust arising out of racial and colonial policies;

—Concepts of national sovereignty, independence and self-sufficiency, that have been made unworkable by technological advances;

—Inordinate pride in a nation's own way of life, culminating in the conviction that God, or "history," demands victory for itself and the defeat of others;

—The search for individual self-esteem through identification with the nation's prestige and glory;

—Ignorance of other nations, cultures, and ways of life;

—The weakness of international instruments for cooperation and for peaceful settlement of disputes.

II. Action

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, the Council fo Christian Social Action recommends that members of ou churches take the following actions as offering the most hop and as being, at the same time, most faithful to Christia objectives.

1. Urge the United States to persist in the effort to reac multilateral agreement on the cessation of all kinds of nuclea weapons testing. Christians should also work on public opinion helping to root out any remaining complacency about th testing and the use of nuclear weapons.

2. Encourage our government to continue negotiations i good faith for general reduction and control of armaments— conventional, nuclear, biological, and chemical.

3. Make known that we are willing to pay the cost o whatever conventional arms may be necessary in order, unde a general arms reduction agreement, to make it possible t meet military aggression without primary reliance on nuclea weapons.

4. Work toward an international system of laws, courts and police power on which the nations can rely for protection One immediate and practical step in this direction needs th support of all citizens; namely, the repeal of the Connall Amendment to the United States treaty of adherence to th World Court. This amendment stipulates that the Unite States reserves the right to decide if disputes involving it ma properly be brought before the Court. The President has aske the Senate to repeal this amendment. Letters favoring repea should go to Senators and to the President.

5. Help to build the needed international system of pro tection and cooperation by furthering acquaintance with an support for the United Nations in all its varied work, not as substitute for national policy but as both a symbol and an in strument of a truly international society.

6. Support increased commercial, scientific, and cultura relations between the United States and communist countries with the object of ameliorating tensions between their peoples

7. Work incessantly to eliminate the underlying causes o war. In particular, all Christians, whatever their views o armaments, should give vigorous support to measures designe to lift the intolerable handicap that poverty places on th majority of human beings in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, an Latin America. A minimum of two per cent of the Unite States national income should be devoted to this purpose Christians should incessantly urge this upon their United State Senators, Congressmen, and the Administration. Educatio on this subject should be foremost in our discussions o international relations.

A Report Form, **Christians and the Arms Race: What Do You Think?**, for recording the opinions and comments of individuals and groups studying the CCSA Statement on **Christians and the Arms Race** is available from the New York and Cleveland offices of the Council. One copy free with every order for these Statements.

A MINORITY OPINION ON "CHRISTIANS AND THE ARMS RACE"

Note: The preceding statement, representing the official position of the Council for Christian Social Action, was adopted by a vote of 16-4, four members being absent. The following expression of the views of the dissenting minority was received by the Council for Christian Social Action for publication:

We agree with many provisions of the foregoing, but vote against it for various individual reasons. Primarily, however, it is because we cannot accept the main thrust of the document. It does not recognize sufficiently our own sins, the desperateness of our dilemma, or the hope in the present situation.

We do not believe that we go forward by escaping from the "nuclear prison" into the arena of conventional arms which characterized World Wars I and II. We oppose a conventional arms race as much as a nuclear arms race and we do not want to pay the cost of either.

There is even some advantage in the present nuclear stalemate in th it gives us time to recognize the fears and convictions of the Soviets underlying causes of the conflict and allows us opportunity to speak th good news of reconciliation.

Our basic assumption is that no violent solution exists — that the on road open is that of intelligent negotiation, peaceful invention, skillf adjustment, and willing interdependence. On this road church people ca move forward in the redemptive love of Christ.

Responsible Parenthood and the Population Problem

Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, January 30, 1960

The Council for Christian Social Action of the United urch of Christ affirms the following statement and calls upon members of our churches to give it earnest thought and verful consideration.

A major problem of our time is popularly called "the popu- on explosion." It presently challenges the thinking of politi- leaders and of social scientists who are engaged in programs improve the welfare of people everywhere. Technological gress has reduced death rates and improved opportunities human life to such an extent as to make possible the bling of the world's population in the last half century, to give us the expectation of almost tripling our present nbers in another half century. This increasing population nands attention from all, particularly those who are already cerned about the misery and hunger which always accompany ulation pressures. Christian teaching concerning the rights people yet unborn demands that we learn how to control ulation growth. So it is important that the church should ak to this problem.

The problem of population control is related to the insti- ion of the family. Since all children need personal love and ture, the church must do what it can to support the develop- nt of strong family life.

The Christian family begins when two persons are drawn to h other in the covenant of marriage, and the two "become flesh" (Eph. 5:31). Marriage, in the Christian under- nding of it, is a divinely given vocation as well as a free ision on the part of two people. It is a responsible act on part of two responsible persons. It has its basis, indeed, in ure: it is the response to a mutual attraction of the one for other. It includes the specifically ethical element of a life- g mutual loyalty. From the perspective of the marriage rtners who are ethically serious the marriage bond requires ely-given mutual love.

This freely-given mutual love will express itself in various ys: in companionship, in acts of selfless service, and in sexual ercourse, all of which are necessary parts of a true marriage. wo purposes are achieved in sexual intercourse: the expression love between two partners and the procreation of children. ne first of these purposes may be achieved without the other. ne procreation of children is a further gift of God, and a aring in His creation. As was said by an ecumenical study oup, "A knowledge of the relation of sexual love to the pro- ation process gives to a couple the power, and therefore the sponsibility, to lift the begetting of children out of the realm biological accident, or 'fate,' into the realm of grace where an is free to wait upon God and consciously to respond to s will."*

In a responsible Christian marriage there will ordinarily a willingness to enlarge the family fellowship to include ildren, and a desire to establish an environment in which ildren can find security, status, and a sense of being wanted d needed. Questions which need to be asked by every parent late to how many children they shall have, and at what tervals. These questions need to be answered responsibly as rents carefully consider their economic, spiritual, psychologi- l, and physical ability to make adequate provision for children, surround them with love and care, and to help them pre- re for the opportunities and duties they must meet. The ysical and emotional health of the wife-mother and husband- ther must also be a major concern.

Since husbands and wives owe a responsibility to other families on the earth, they must take into account the relation of natural resources to the total population. Under present circumstances this means that most couples have not only the right but also the moral obligation to space and limit the number of births. Procreation without regard to the consequences may be as irresponsible as refusal to assume the duties of parenthood.

In considering this problem husbands and wives who accept the obligation to space and limit the number of their children are confronted with the decision as to the means they will use. Is periodic continence the only morally acceptable method, or may mechanical and chemical barriers to the union of sperm and ovum be employed? We endorse the position taken in 1958 by the Lambeth Conference of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion: "It must be emphasized once again that family planning ought to be the result of thoughtful and prayerful Christian decision. Where it is, Christian husbands and wives need feel no hesitation in offering their decision humbly to God and following it with a clear conscience. The *means* of family planning are in large measure matters of clinical and aesthetic choice, subject to the requirement that they be admissible to the Christian conscience. Scientific studies can rightly help, and do, in assessing the effects and the usefulness of any particular means; and Christians have every right to use the gifts of science for proper ends."

There are other problems to be considered in this connection. Christians are deeply concerned about the moral problems of sex relations before marriage, and outside of the marriage bond. From the Christian viewpoint both are violations of God's will as expressed in the moral law. Advocacy of the use of contraceptives by married couples is not an endorsement of promiscuity among the unmarried.

Nor can we condone the practice of abortion, which is known to be widespread in today's world as a means of preventing the birth of unwanted children. The practice of abortion is a moral as well as a medical and legal problem. Christian conscience cannot approve of abortion as a means of family planning, for it violates personality and involves the destruction of human life.

Another method of controlling conception is sterilization. In some countries voluntary sterilization is endorsed by government, and it has been accepted by some parents who desire to limit the size of their families. In the United States it is sometimes performed with the written consent of husband and wife when the latter's health seems to require it. The whole subject of sterilization is in need of careful study. It should be approached with sympathetic understanding of those factors which make the use of mechanical contraceptives most difficult.

In light of the foregoing considerations we hold that responsible family planning is today a clear moral duty. We believe that public law and public institutions should sanction the distribution through authorized channels of reliable information and contraceptive devices. Laws which forbid doctors, social workers and ministers to provide such information and service are infringements of the rights of free citizens and should be removed from the statute books. Any hospital which receives public funds should permit doctors to provide all services they consider necessary.

Those who are responsible for international technical assistance programs should give serious and realistic consideration to the implications of the population explosion in many economically less developed countries. These countries find themselves in a dangerous economic situation because of the

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esponsible Parenthood and the Population Problem, Report of a Special umenical Study Group, Mansfield College, Oxford, 12-15, April 1959, 5, Para. 16.

rapid decline in death rates brought about by international assistance in medicine and public health. A foreign aid program which has helped lower the death rate must also be concerned with a rising birth rate. Yet countries which desire to reduce the resultant population pressure through the encouragement of family planning are receiving little or no assistance on the technical problems involved. This situation imperils their development programs. There is little hope for the success of such efforts unless birth rates are reduced. Therefore those respon sible for international technical assistance programs shou include family limitation helps to those governments requestir them.

We call upon the members of our churches, voluntar agencies, and the government of the United States of Americ to give serious consideration and active support to these prin ciples.

Qualifications for the Office of President of the United States

Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, January 31, 1960

The Council for Christian Social Action unequivocally states its conviction that no citizen should be denied nomination by a political party or election to the office of President on grounds of race, religion, or ethnic origin.

To accept as unwritten law, or to assume, that no Roman Catholic should be President of the United States would amount to a denial of fundamental American principles and would infringe liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

This does not mean that citizens may not ask questions about a Presidential candidate's character, beliefs, and affiliations, including his religious beliefs and affiliations. Since the Roman Catholic Church is known to contain at least two opposing views of the preferred relationship between church and state and of the basis for religious liberty, it would be important to know the views of a Roman Catholic candidate on those issues. Religious affiliation must not automatically qualify or disqualify a citizen for any political office.

Among the qualifications for the Presidency that voters should hold to be decisive are these: unusual gifts of insight; integrity; political experience and acumen; broad perspectives on history and political processes; a fundamental generosity o mind and heart; the ability to persuade and lead and to mak firm decisions. Attachment to fundamental American principl and to the best interests of the American society should b judged by the candidate's whole career and by his own publi avowals.

Once in the Presidency, the crucial question is not wha influences are brought to bear upon him, but what response th President makes to such influences. The probable response ca be judged in advance only by a study of the candidate's recor and his publicly avowed positions on important issues. Th interests of all religious and non-religious groups must be take into account by the President, whatever his personal religiou affiliation. The important question is the fairness of his ap praisal and his treatment of all influences and groups.

The Council for Christian Social Action calls upon th members of the churches to participate in the electoral proces as an important contribution to democracy and the public wel fare. It urges church members to judge parties, issues, an candidates on the basis of intrinsic merits, keeping in mind th many-sided demands and needs of our pluralistic society.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

The Council for Christian Social Action recommends that synods, conferences, and associations:

1. **Urge congregations to make the widest distribution and use of the *Call to Christian Action in Society* adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ—in worship, in group study, in parish mailings, and in the development of their programs of Christian Social Action.**
2. **Study the Council for Christian Social Action's statement on *Christians and the Arms Race;* report to the churches, to the President and the Congress and to the Council for Christian Social Action their views as to the policies proposed therein; and offer assistance to local congregations in the effective use of this statement in their programs of social education and action.**
3. **Approve the CCSA statement on *Responsible Parenthood and the Population Problem* as a guide for the members of our churches as well as for public officials who must deal with international economic development programs.**
4. **Call the attention of their constituents to the importance of exercising their franchise as citizens responsibly, diligently, intelligently, faithfully, making use of such guides to the evaluation of candidates, parties, and programs as the *Call to Christian Action in Society,* the statement on "Qualifications for the office of President of the United States," and other statements of the Council for Christian Social Action and the National Council of Churches.**
5. **Encourage the study of the National Council of Churches' statement, "Ethical Issues in Industrial Relations of Concern to Christians", adopted as its own by the Council for Christian Social Action, as an aid to better evaluation of the economic problems perplexing our society.**
6. **Commend those congregations which have endeavored to become racially inclusive Christian fellowships and have sought to face the challenge of interracial justice in the community, and urge all our congregations and members to explore ways in which they can increase the opportunity for all people to secure good housing and other social advantages without discrimination.**
7. **Encourage pastors, congregations, and organizations to continue their study and action on international affairs begun with the Nationwide Program for Peace, and urge them to participate fully in the forthcoming interdenominational coordinated emphasis on "Christian Responsibility for Freedom."**
8. **Encourage congregations and community groups to make use of the statement on "Our Christian Concern for Public Education," presented to the associations, synods and conferences in the 1958 Report of the Council for Christian Social Action, adopted with slight editorial changes by the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church upon the initiative of the Board of Christian Education and Publication, and approved by the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches.**

The above Statements have been adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ. Additional copies may be secured from the Council at five cents each, two cents each for 50 or more.

COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y., or 2969 West 25th St., Cleveland 13, Ohio

and Reformed Churches to the Cleveland office of the CSA. The files of 50 Evangelical and Reformed and 35 Congational Christian persons registered with the denomination now in the care of the Associate Director. An information cket, informational bulletins, and triplicate blanks for the istration of conscientious objectors are available from the eveland office of the Council for Christian Social Action, 59 West 25th Street, Cleveland 13, Ohio.

NSULTATION ON SPECIAL PROBLEMS

In a number of important fields joint consultations have n held or are under consideration by the Council and its ious functional committees.

During the past year, in response to an issue of *Social ion* magazine dealing with the population explosion, the uncil received a gift of $4,000 from a layman who was imssed by the importance of this treatment of a pressing social blem. This gift not only made it possible to distribute copies this issue of the magazine more widely, but also to call ether a consultation of members of the Council, theologians, l persons with special competence in family relations and in ernational relations. As a result of this consultation a statent has been drafted dealing with the subject of "RESPONBLE PARENTHOOD AND THE POPULATION OBLEM." This statement is attached to this report as pted by the Council and commended to the synods and conences for their action. The April issue of *Social Action* will blish the paper of Professor Elmer J. F. Arndt on Respon-le Parenthood.

The Council was led to seek joint exploration in a second a by means of a consultation on the Church and the Probns of the Aging, held in Cleveland, Ohio, November 4-6. is meeting recommended that broad responsibility of the urch for aging people needs to be recognized by the United urch of Christ and should be coordinated within the proposed uncil on Benevolent Institutions, however finally constituted the Constitution of the United Church.

A third proposal for consultation grew out of an earlier sultation on the Church and the Farm Problem held at s Moines, Iowa, November 10-11, 1958. In evaluating this l related themes in our rural society, the Council for ristian Social Action set up jointly with the Town and untry Church Department a Committee on Rural Issues. on the recommendation of this Committee the sponsoring ncies propose to have a Consultation on the Church and mmunity Development at Lisle, New York, November 9-11, 60. The purpose of this consultation is to take a sharp k at what is happening to small communities under the impact economic and social change, and especially to look at the portunities and responsibilities of the churches in these areas. is consultation is planned for the synods and conferences in w England, New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

ESTIONS OF ECONOMIC POLICY AND TAXATION

A number of questions in the area of economic policy and policy were referred to the Council for Christian Social ion. After study by the Committee on Economic Life and Executive Committee of the Council, the following actions re taken:

1. With reference to a request by the General Synod of Evangelical and Reformed Church that the Commission on ristian Social Action restudy its position on anti-union-shop islation, the Commission and the Council have no changes in ir previously expressed position to recommend at the present e. However, they have adopted and heartily commend the National Council of Churches' statement on "Ethical Issues in Industrial Relations of Concern to Christians" as a fuller treatment of this and related issues.

2. With reference to an inquiry from the General Council of Congregational Christian Churches as to the desirability of having church employees covered by unemployment insurance the Council voted to concur in the judgment expressed by the Committee on Economic Life that the churches and church organizations should seek to cover their lay employees by unemployment insurance.

In response to requests for guidance the Council has asked its Committee on Economic Life to study the question of tax exemption for churches and church organizations.

It will be of interest also that the Council is planning a discussion of emerging issues in labor-management relations at the September, 1960 meeting. It has asked the Economic Life Committee to prepare a statement on the problems of migratory workers and to devise ways of keeping synodical and state conference leaders informed of these needs.

WASHINGTON STAFF REPRESENTATION

The Council is hopeful that, with the encouraging action taken by the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church in making additional funds conditionally available to the Commission on Christian Social Action and with the approval of the National Council of Churches, it will be able to add to its staff a Washington representative to be related closely to the Washington Office of the National Council of Churches.

RACE RELATIONS

For some three years the Council for Christian Social Action has employed Miss Dorothy E. Hampton as Consultant in Race Relations in the North Carolina and Virginia area of our churches. During this time she has been of service to individuals, groups, congregations, and interdenominational organizations as well as to the conferences, synods, and conventions affected. There have been exceedingly favorable reports of her work in interpreting race relations and promoting understanding across group lines wherever she has worked.

Although the funds appropriated by the Fund for the Republic have now been exhausted, we are pleased to report that the ministry thus begun will be continued and extended through the interest of the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches, the General Council of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, and the Council for Christian Social Action. As a result Miss Hampton will continue her work. In addition the Reverend Edward M. Brown has been employed to carry on similar consultation in the states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee. An advisory committee, appointed by the cooperating agencies, will consult with these workers and support them in strengthening inclusive fellowship and better understanding.

Conscious at the same time that racial discrimination is not a peculiarity of any one section of the country, the Council for Christian Social Action has undertaken a pilot project in a northern city which promotes a policy of openness and inclusiveness in making housing available for members of all groups without discrimination. Through the encouragement of a grant of $9,000 from the Council for Christian Social Action, to be repeated in two succeeding years, the Minneapolis Interfaith Fair Housing Program has been set up, under a strong local committee, assisted by a staff representative of the CCSA. On this local board both the Congregational Christian and the Evangelical and Reformed churches of the area are represented.

On September 1, Mr. James A. Tillman, Jr. began his work as the Staff Executive. This Program is directed toward achieving acceptance of the principle that housing should be available to all comers without discrimination and to the prevention of "panic selling" when a neighborhood changes its ethnic composition. It is hoped that from this experience we shall learn much about the "how" of orderly residential integration.

The Race Relations work of the Council is undergoing at once a restriction and an extension in that one of the two Secretaries, the Reverend Chester L. Marcus, will spend the year 1960 in Ghana as the representative of the Board of International Missions teaching in the seminary and colleges of the Evangelical Presbyterian Church in that country. In his absence the Hough Avenue Evangelical and Reformed Church of Cleveland, Ohio, a congregation that has established an enviable record for community service and Christian inclusiveness, has released approximately three-fourths of the time of its Pastor, the Reverend Rudolph W. Raber, to serve as the acting Secretary of Racial and Cultural Relations in the Cleveland office. To compensate the church for this sizable sacrifice of consecrated pastoral leadership, the agencies responsible for Mr. Marcus' work are providing assistance to Hough Church in the form of a seminary student, Mr. James Mengel, who is taking this as his clinical year. The Council would express its good wishes both to Mr. Marcus in his overseas mission of interpretation and service and to Mr. Raber for the work he will do among his fellow pastors in the United Church of Christ.

COORDINATED EMPHASES

The denominations cooperating through the National Council of Churches have agreed upon an annual coordinated emphasis in the area of Christian Life and Work for the period July, 1959 through June, 1960. This emphasis is the Nationwide Program for Peace. A number of synods and conferences cooperated in training institutes during the last half of 1959. During the first part of 1960 the emphasis is to be carried out in local congregations. Materials are available from either the New York office of the Council for Christian Social Action, 289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, New York or the Department of International Affairs of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York 27, New York. W encourage our churches to use these materials and participa to the full in promoting a better understanding of internatio problems and a responsible approach to world order.

The coordinated emphasis to be developed during the ye beginning July 1, 1960 will be in another significant area, th of religious liberty. The theme for this is "Christian Respo sibility for Freedom." Resources for this emphasis will be ma available by the CCSA and by the Department of Religio Liberty of the National Council of Churches. Training a valuable background will be offered at the summer Christi Social Action institutes sponsored by the CCSA.

FINANCES

So long as the Council for Christian Social Action is d pendent for its chief financial resources upon the giving of th churches through the channels established by the Congregation Christian and Evangelical and Reformed denominations, t major budgetary and financial operations are being carried o through separate treasuries. Thus the Council for Social Actio and the Commission on Christian Social Action each assum responsibility for the salaries of its own staff, office personne office rent, etc. They have, however, established a treasury fo the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Churc of Christ to which designated sums have been entrusted fo the program costs of our summer institutes and seminars, fo special projects such as the Minneapolis Fair Housing Progra and for other new programs as authorized from time to time.

Attached to this report are statements on "Christians an the Arms Race," "Responsible Parenthood and the Populatio Problem," and "Qualifications for the Office of President o the United States," and recommendations for action by the a sociations, conferences, and synods.

THE COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTIO
Hugo W. Thompson, *Chairman*
Henry C. Koch, *Vice Chairman*
Ray Gibbons, *Director*
Huber F. Klemme, *Associate Director*

CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

MARCH, 1960

News and Program Service of the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ
Ray Gibbons, Director
Huber F. Klemme, Associate Director and Editor

Sent free to pastors and social action committee chairmen. Group subscriptions, 10 or more to one address, 50 cents each. Individual subscriptions, $2 per year with SOCIAL ACTION upon request.

General communications and orders from Evangelical and Reformed churches should be addressed to the Editor, Council for Christian Social Action, 2969 W. 25th St., Cleveland 13, Ohio.

Congregational Christians should order from Council for Christian Social Action, 289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y.

The Council for Christian Social Action unites the work of the Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church.

URGE STUDY AND ACTION

Three important statements, dealing respectively with "Christians and th Arms Race," "Responsible Parenthood and the Population Problem," and "Quali fications for the Office of President of the United States" have been adopted b the Council for Christian Social Action and form part of this report. For con venience they have been printed as a supplement to this issue of CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY and may be ordered separately, at five cents per single copy two cents each for fifty or more.

With each order one copy of a Report Form, *Christians and the Arms Race. What Do You Think?* for recording the opinions, comments, and suggestions fo amendment of the statement on "Christians and the Arms Race," may be obtained without charge.

The Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches and the Commission on Christian Social Action of the Evangelical and Reformed Church have taken action approving these recommendations and statements and commend them with the above report to the conferences, associations, synods, congregations, and members of our fellowship.

Statements of the
Council for Christian
Social Action
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

Supplement to
CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY
March, 1960

PACIFIC SCHOOL

CHRISTIANS AND THE ARMS RACE

A Statement on the Reduction and Control of Armaments

Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, January 31, 1960

Christians are more and more disturbed by the arms race are asking what they can do to help bring it under control.

In this statement the Council for Christian Social Action, king primarily to the people of the Evangelical and Reined Church and the Congregational Christian Churches, resses itself to this problem. The Council believes there are ific and practical things that members of our churches ought do and can do now. But our recommendations for action w out of our understanding of the Christian faith and out ur analysis of what underlies the arms race, of the character odern arms, and of the place of armed force in the world ations. We begin, therefore, with a brief summary of such nalysis.

I. Analysis

1. Reasons for the arms race. Following two military ins from the West in one generation, the government of the et Union has had an understandable fear for the security he country. But the international aims of communist coun- go far beyond a legitimate security system; they involve ing less than the destruction of Western democracies and creation of a worldwide system of communist control. s threatens not only the security of noncommunist nations the integrity of their ways of life, but also values of ral importance to Christians.

Since communist governments have used and threatened se military power as a means of realizing their interna- al purposes, it has been the policy of the government of United States to maintain military power sufficient to deter e governments from further expansion of communism by e. While constantly urging greater emphasis on nonmilitary s of dealing with the danger, the Council for Christian al Action has supported the policy of deterrence by armed ngth. There can be little doubt that without strong military er on our side many areas now free would be under comist control.

Even with recent changes in the Soviet Union that seem oint to a less belligerent international policy, there is no ence that the aims of the international communist move- t have changed. On the contrary, the aim of making munism everywhere victorious has recently and repeatedly restated. Competition between communism and western ocratic systems is now going on; it could produce some good lts on both sides. And the right of communists to advocate, try to extend, their system cannot reasonably be denied.

But the emphasis communist governments currently put on peace indicates not only a concern for higher standards of living in their own countries but also their recognition that a nuclear war, so far from advancing their aims, might destroy what they have already achieved. A serious weakening of military power on our side would certainly tempt communist governments to revert to the policy of supporting their international aims with military force. While, therefore, we hope for gradual changes in communist regimes that will make it possible to live with them, protection through military power approximately equal to theirs seems for the present necessary.

2. Dangers of the arms race. But the policy of protection by arms has led both sides into an arms race that has no limits. Both sides now feel threatened, and neither rests easy with the prospect of falling behind in the production of the latest weapons. There has existed for some time a vicious circle to which both sides contribute. The race absorbs more and more of the national income and energy and it reaches no point at which security is assured.

The actual use of the strongest weapons now in possession of both sides would cause immeasurable ruin and do irreparable damage to future generations. This seems now to be recognized by leaders of the West and of communist governments. No "hard-headed" calculations on our part, intended to suggest that a general nuclear war might, after all, be "tolerable," should weaken our resolution to bring nuclear weapons under international control and, ultimately to eliminate them. The use of these weapons has passed the bounds of moral and political toleration.

3. Present necessity of national arms. A drastic reduction in the present level of national armaments is imperative, and the effort to effect such reduction must be pursued with all possible vigor. It must, however, be acknowledged that universal and complete disarmament is neither possible nor desirable until an international system for the protection of the nations has been created. No society, domestic or international, can dispense with means of physical coercion. Considerations of love and justice, as well as of order, demand that, when every other means has failed, the community have power to enforce its decisions. The present reliance of the nations for protection on nationally controlled military power must be recognized as being as anarchic and intolerable as a domestic society in which individuals take both judgment and punishment into their own hands. But until such time as the world has a greatly developed system of international law, international courts with effective jurisdiction, and an international police system, nations will not and cannot reduce their armaments to the level needed for

purely domestic purposes. They can reduce and control their armaments, but they cannot completely disarm.

4. Mistaken reliance on nuclear arms. Mainly for reasons of cost in dollars, the United States has placed almost complete reliance on nuclear weapons as a means of deterrence. The result has been the "balance of terror." This may have had the good consequence of causing both sides to draw back from any military action that might become a nuclear war. It has also put the free nations in a situation in which they may be inhibited from needed resistance to aggression, or threats of aggression, by the fact that effective resistance would compel them to use nuclear weapons, leading to a nuclear conflict whose consequences would be disastrous. United States military policy has, in this way, put our country in a nuclear prison, since the conventional military capabilities of communist countries now greatly outbalance those of the free nations.

5. Importance of serious negotiation. Agreement on reduction and control of armaments of all kinds depends on the sincerity and seriousness with which both sides approach the problem. It does not depend altogether on the Soviet Union and its allies. With respect to general arms reduction, the people of the United States cannot take it for granted that their government's proposals are always the best that can be devised. Skepticism in those conditioned by their military training and environment, as well as in some political leaders, may make our experts less creative than they need to be in arms-reduction negotiations. The age-long reliance on, and pride in, superior military power may still be operative among our people, despite the basically new situation.

In fact, with respect to nuclear weapons testing, which has its own perils, it is well known that elements in the United States government are opposed to cessation, even on a multilateral basis with an effective inspection system.

6. The underlying causes of war. Finally, it should be recognized that armaments are not a primary cause of international tension and war. The world's longing for peace cannot be satisfied by giving over-riding attention to armaments. Our first and basic task is to change the conditions that produce unrest, tension, and strife. Among these conditions are:

—Gross disparity in living standards in a shrinking and increasingly interdependent world;

—Deep suspicion and distrust arising out of racial and colonial policies;

—Concepts of national sovereignty, independence and self-sufficiency, that have been made unworkable by technological advances;

—Inordinate pride in a nation's own way of life, culminating in the conviction that God, or "history," demands victory for itself and the defeat of others;

—The search for individual self-esteem through identification with the nation's prestige and glory;

—Ignorance of other nations, cultures, and ways of life;

—The weakness of international instruments for cooperation and for peaceful settlement of disputes.

II. Action

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, the Council fo Christian Social Action recommends that members of ou churches take the following actions as offering the most hop and as being, at the same time, most faithful to Christia objectives.

1. Urge the United States to persist in the effort to reac multilateral agreement on the cessation of all kinds of nuclea weapons testing. Christians should also work on public opinio helping to root out any remaining complacency about th testing and the use of nuclear weapons.

2. Encourage our government to continue negotiations i good faith for general reduction and control of armaments— conventional, nuclear, biological, and chemical.

3. Make known that we are willing to pay the cost o whatever conventional arms may be necessary in order, unde a general arms reduction agreement, to make it possible t meet military aggression without primary reliance on nuclea weapons.

4. Work toward an international system of laws, court and police power on which the nations can rely for protectio One immediate and practical step in this direction needs th support of all citizens; namely, the repeal of the Connall Amendment to the United States treaty of adherence to th World Court. This amendment stipulates that the Unite States reserves the right to decide if disputes involving it ma properly be brought before the Court. The President has aske the Senate to repeal this amendment. Letters favoring repe should go to Senators and to the President.

5. Help to build the needed international system of pro tection and cooperation by furthering acquaintance with an support for the United Nations in all its varied work, not as substitute for national policy but as both a symbol and an in strument of a truly international society.

6. Support increased commercial, scientific, and cultur relations between the United States and communist countrie with the object of ameliorating tensions between their people

7. Work incessantly to eliminate the underlying causes o war. In particular, all Christians, whatever their views o armaments, should give vigorous support to measures designe to lift the intolerable handicap that poverty places on th majority of human beings in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, an Latin America. A minimum of two per cent of the Unite States national income should be devoted to this purpos Christians should incessantly urge this upon their United Stat Senators, Congressmen, and the Administration. Educatio on this subject should be foremost in our discussions o international relations.

A Report Form, **Christians and the Arms Race: What Do You Think?**, for recording the opinions and comments of individuals and groups studying the CCSA Statement on **Christians and the Arms Race** is available from the New York and Cleveland offices of the Council. One copy free with every order for these Statements.

A MINORITY OPINION ON "CHRISTIANS AND THE ARMS RACE"

Note: The preceding statement, representing the official position of the Council for Christian Social Action, was adopted by a vote of 16-4, four members being absent. The following expression of the views of the dissenting minority was received by the Council for Christian Social Action for publication:

We agree with many provisions of the foregoing, but vote against it for various individual reasons. Primarily, however, it is because we cannot accept the main thrust of the document. It does not recognize sufficiently our own sins, the desperateness of our dilemma, or the hope in the present situation.

We do not believe that we go forward by escaping from the "nuclear prison" into the arena of conventional arms which characterized World Wars I and II. We oppose a conventional arms race as much as a nuclear arms race and we do not want to pay the cost of either.

There is even some advantage in the present nuclear stalemate in th it gives us time to recognize the fears and convictions of the Soviets underlying causes of the conflict and allows us opportunity to speak t good news of reconciliation.

Our basic assumption is that no violent solution exists — that the on road open is that of intelligent negotiation, peaceful invention, skill adjustment, and willing interdependence. On this road church people c move forward in the redemptive love of Christ.

Responsible Parenthood and the Population Problem

Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, January 30, 1960

The Council for Christian Social Action of the United rch of Christ affirms the following statement and calls upon members of our churches to give it earnest thought and erful consideration.

major problem of our time is popularly called "the popun explosion." It presently challenges the thinking of politieaders and of social scientists who are engaged in programs mprove the welfare of people everywhere. Technological ress has reduced death rates and improved opportunities human life to such an extent as to make possible the bling of the world's population in the last half century, to give us the expectation of almost tripling our present bers in another half century. This increasing population ands attention from all, particularly those who are already cerned about the misery and hunger which always accompany ulation pressures. Christian teaching concerning the rights people yet unborn demands that we learn how to control ulation growth. So it is important that the church should k to this problem.

The problem of population control is related to the instion of the family. Since all children need personal love and ture, the church must do what it can to support the develop- of strong family life.

The Christian family begins when two persons are drawn to other in the covenant of marriage, and the two "become flesh" (Eph. 5:31). Marriage, in the Christian understanding of it, is a divinely given vocation as well as a free vision on the part of two people. It is a responsible act on part of two responsible persons. It has its basis, indeed, in ure: it is the response to a mutual attraction of the one for other. It includes the specifically ethical element of a lifeg mutual loyalty. From the perspective of the marriage tners who are ethically serious the marriage bond requires ely-given mutual love.

This freely-given mutual love will express itself in various ys: in companionship, in acts of selfless service, and in sexual rcourse, all of which are necessary parts of a true marriage. wo purposes are achieved in sexual intercourse: the expression love between two partners and the procreation of children. e first of these purposes may be achieved without the other. e procreation of children is a further gift of God, and a ring in His creation. As was said by an ecumenical study up, "A knowledge of the relation of sexual love to the proation process gives to a couple the power, and therefore the sponsibility, to lift the begetting of children out of the realm biological accident, or 'fate,' into the realm of grace where n is free to wait upon God and consciously to respond to will."*

In a responsible Christian marriage there will ordinarily a willingness to enlarge the family fellowship to include ldren, and a desire to establish an environment in which ldren can find security, status, and a sense of being wanted d needed. Questions which need to be asked by every parent ate to how many children they shall have, and at what ervals. These questions need to be answered responsibly as rents carefully consider their economic, spiritual, psychologi-, and physical ability to make adequate provision for children, surround them with love and care, and to help them pre- re for the opportunities and duties they must meet. The ysical and emotional health of the wife-mother and husband- her must also be a major concern.

Since husbands and wives owe a responsibility to other families on the earth, they must take into account the relation of natural resources to the total population. Under present circumstances this means that most couples have not only the right but also the moral obligation to space and limit the number of births. Procreation without regard to the consequences may be as irresponsible as refusal to assume the duties of parenthood.

In considering this problem husbands and wives who accept the obligation to space and limit the number of their children are confronted with the decision as to the means they will use. Is periodic continence the only morally acceptable method, or may mechanical and chemical barriers to the union of sperm and ovum be employed? We endorse the position taken in 1958 by the Lambeth Conference of the Bishops of the Anglican Communion: "It must be emphasized once again that family planning ought to be the result of thoughtful and prayerful Christian decision. Where it is, Christian husbands and wives need feel no hesitation in offering their decision humbly to God and following it with a clear conscience. The *means* of family planning are in large measure matters of clinical and aesthetic choice, subject to the requirement that they be admissible to the Christian conscience. Scientific studies can rightly help, and do, in assessing the effects and the usefulness of any particular means; and Christians have every right to use the gifts of science for proper ends."

There are other problems to be considered in this connection. Christians are deeply concerned about the moral problems of sex relations before marriage, and outside of the marriage bond. From the Christian viewpoint both are violations of God's will as expressed in the moral law. Advocacy of the use of contraceptives by married couples is not an endorsement of promiscuity among the unmarried.

Nor can we condone the practice of abortion, which is known to be widespread in today's world as a means of preventing the birth of unwanted children. The practice of abortion is a moral as well as a medical and legal problem. Christian conscience cannot approve of abortion as a means of family planning, for it violates personality and involves the destruction of human life.

Another method of controlling conception is sterilization. In some countries voluntary sterilization is endorsed by government, and it has been accepted by some parents who desire to limit the size of their families. In the United States it is sometimes performed with the written consent of husband and wife when the latter's health seems to require it. The whole subject of sterilization is in need of careful study. It should be approached with sympathetic understanding of those factors which make the use of mechanical contraceptives most difficult.

In light of the foregoing considerations we hold that responsible family planning is today a clear moral duty. We believe that public law and public institutions should sanction the distribution through authorized channels of reliable information and contraceptive devices. Laws which forbid doctors, social workers and ministers to provide such information and service are infringements of the rights of free citizens and should be removed from the statute books. Any hospital which receives public funds should permit doctors to provide all services they consider necessary.

Those who are responsible for international technical assistance programs should give serious and realistic consideration to the implications of the population explosion in many economically less developed countries. These countries find themselves in a dangerous economic situation because of the

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esponsible Parenthood and the Population Problem, Report of a Special umenical Study Group, Mansfield College, Oxford, 12-15, April 1959, 5, Para. 16.

rapid decline in death rates brought about by international assistance in medicine and public health. A foreign aid program which has helped lower the death rate must also be concerned with a rising birth rate. Yet countries which desire to reduce the resultant population pressure through the encouragement of family planning are receiving little or no assistance on the technical problems involved. This situation imperils their development programs. There is little hope for the success of such efforts unless birth rates are reduced. Therefore those respo sible for international technical assistance programs shou include family limitation helps to those governments requestir them.

We call upon the members of our churches, voluntar agencies, and the government of the United States of Americ to give serious consideration and active support to these pri ciples.

Qualifications for the Office of President of the United States

Adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ, January 31, 1960

The Council for Christian Social Action unequivocally states its conviction that no citizen should be denied nomination by a political party or election to the office of President on grounds of race, religion, or ethnic origin.

To accept as unwritten law, or to assume, that no Roman Catholic should be President of the United States would amount to a denial of fundamental American principles and would infringe liberties guaranteed by the Constitution.

This does not mean that citizens may not ask questions about a Presidential candidate's character, beliefs, and affiliations, including his religious beliefs and affiliations. Since the Roman Catholic Church is known to contain at least two opposing views of the preferred relationship between church and state and of the basis for religious liberty, it would be important to know the views of a Roman Catholic candidate on those issues. Religious affiliation must not automatically qualify or disqualify a citizen for any political office.

Among the qualifications for the Presidency that voters should hold to be decisive are these: unusual gifts of insight; integrity; political experience and acumen; broad perspectives on history and political processes; a fundamental generosity f mind and heart; the ability to persuade and lead and to ma firm decisions. Attachment to fundamental American principle and to the best interests of the American society should b judged by the candidate's whole career and by his own publi avowals.

Once in the Presidency, the crucial question is not wha influences are brought to bear upon him, but what response th President makes to such influences. The probable response ca be judged in advance only by a study of the candidate's recor and his publicly avowed positions on important issues. Th interests of all religious and non-religious groups must be take into account by the President, whatever his personal religiou affiliation. The important question is the fairness of his ap praisal and his treatment of all influences and groups.

The Council for Christian Social Action calls upon th members of the churches to participate in the electoral proces as an important contribution to democracy and the public wel fare. It urges church members to judge parties, issues, an candidates on the basis of intrinsic merits, keeping in mind th many-sided demands and needs of our pluralistic society.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ACTION

The Council for Christian Social Action recommends that synods, conferences, and associations:

1. **Urge congregations to make the widest distribution and use of the *Call to Christian Action in Society* adopted by the General Synod of the United Church of Christ—in worship, in group study, in parish mailings, and in the development of their programs of Christian Social Action.**
2. **Study the Council for Christian Social Action's statement on *Christians and the Arms Race;* report to the churches, to the President and the Congress and to the Council for Christian Social Action their views as to the policies proposed therein; and offer assistance to local congregations in the effective use of this statement in their programs of social education and action.**
3. **Approve the CCSA statement on *Responsible Parenthood and the Population Problem* as a guide for the members of our churches as well as for public officials who must deal with international economic development programs.**
4. **Call the attention of their constituents to the importance of exercising their franchise as citizens responsibly, diligently, intelligently, faithfully, making use of such guides to the evaluation of candidates, parties, and programs as the *Call to Christian Action in Society,* the statement on "Qualifications for the office of President of the United States," and other statements of the Council for Christian Social Action and the National Council of Churches.**
5. **Encourage the study of the National Council of Churches' statement, "Ethical Issues in Industrial Relations of Concern to Christians", adopted as its own by the Council for Christian Social Action, as an aid to better evaluation of the economic problems perplexing our society.**
6. **Commend those congregations which have endeavored to become racially inclusive Christian fellowships and have sought to face the challenge of interracial justice in the community, and urge all our congregations and members to explore ways in which they can increase the opportunity for all people to secure good housing and other social advantages without discrimination.**
7. **Encourage pastors, congregations, and organizations to continue their study and action on international affairs begun with the Nationwide Program for Peace, and urge them to participate fully in the forthcoming interdenominational coordinated emphasis on "Christian Responsibility for Freedom."**
8. **Encourage congregations and community groups to make use of the statement on "Our Christian Concern for Public Education," presented to the associations, synods and conferences in the 1958 Report of the Council for Christian Social Action, adopted with slight editorial changes by the General Synod of the Evangelical and Reformed Church upon the initiative of the Board of Christian Education and Publication, and approved by the Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches.**

The above Statements have been adopted by the Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ. Additional copies may be secured from the Council at five cents each, two cents each for 50 or more.

COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION
OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

289 Park Avenue South, New York 10, N. Y., or 2969 West 25th St., Cleveland 13, Ohio